THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST.

VOL. II.—No. 29. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2ND, 1915. PRICE ONE HALFPENNY.

Donations to be sent to Hon. Treasurer, Dr. Tchaykovsky, Langham House, Harrow, or Hon. Financial Sec., Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

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MEETINGS LIST.

Friday, Oct. 1

Piggott St., 6.30 p.m., Miss Lynch, Miss Manicom.
Beckton Rd., 6.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Poplar Women's Hall, 3 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Mrs. Drake.
Women's Hall (Debate) 8 p.m., Miss S. Pankhurst.

Sunday, Oct. 3rd.

Victoria Park, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Leigh Rothwell, Miss Manicom.
Women's Hall, 8 p.m., Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mr. B. W. Sorensen.
Dock Gates, 6.30 p.m., Miss Fraser Smith, Mrs. Drake.

Monday, Oct. 4th.

Morning Lane and Mare St., 6.30 p.m., Miss Lynch, Miss Beamish.
"Peacock," 6.30 p.m., Mr. Mackinlay.
Dock Gates, 6.30 p.m., Miss Feek, Mrs. Drake.

Tuesday, Oct. 5th.

Salmon Lane, 6.30 p.m., Mrs. Davies.
Poplar Women's Hall, 8 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Mrs. Drake.
175 Dalston Lane, 3 p.m., Miss Chesley.
Women's Hall, 3 p.m., Mrs. Gregory.

Wednesday, Oct. 6th.

Chrisp St., 6.30 p.m., Mrs. Drake, and others.
Ford Road, 6.30 p.m., Mr. Franklin.

Thursday, Oct. 7th.

175 Dalston Lane, 8 p.m., Miss M. Price.
124 Barking Rd., 8 p.m., Miss O'Callaghan.
53 St. Leonard's St., Mrs. Bouvier.

Friday, Oct. 8th.

Piggott St., 6.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Beckton Rd., 6.30 p.m.
Poplar Women's Hall, 3 p.m., Miss Lynch, Mrs. Drake.
Women's Hall, 8 p.m., Debate.

Sunday, Oct. 10th.

Hyde Park, 3 p.m., Mrs. Leigh Rothwell, Mrs. Drake.
Poplar Women's Hall, 8 p.m., Miss S. Pankhurst, Mrs. Walshe.

SUFFRAGE CLUBS. Poplar, 20 Railway St., 8 to 10 p.m., Wednesdays.
Bow, 400 Old Ford Road, Mondays and Fridays 8 to 10. p.m.

To reach Old Ford Road take an Old Ford 'bus (No. 8), which goes via the Marble Arch, Oxford St., the Bank and Liverpool St., or book to Old Ford Station on the North London Railway.

THURSDAY, OCT. 7th.

175 DALSTON LANE, 8 p.m.

"The Work of the Hackney Trades Council."

SPEAKER: MRS. PRICE.

The calls on our four mother and baby centres, for milk, eggs, medicines, and doctoring and nursing care, will become more frequent and more urgent as the summer advances. Will you help by sending us some money for this work?

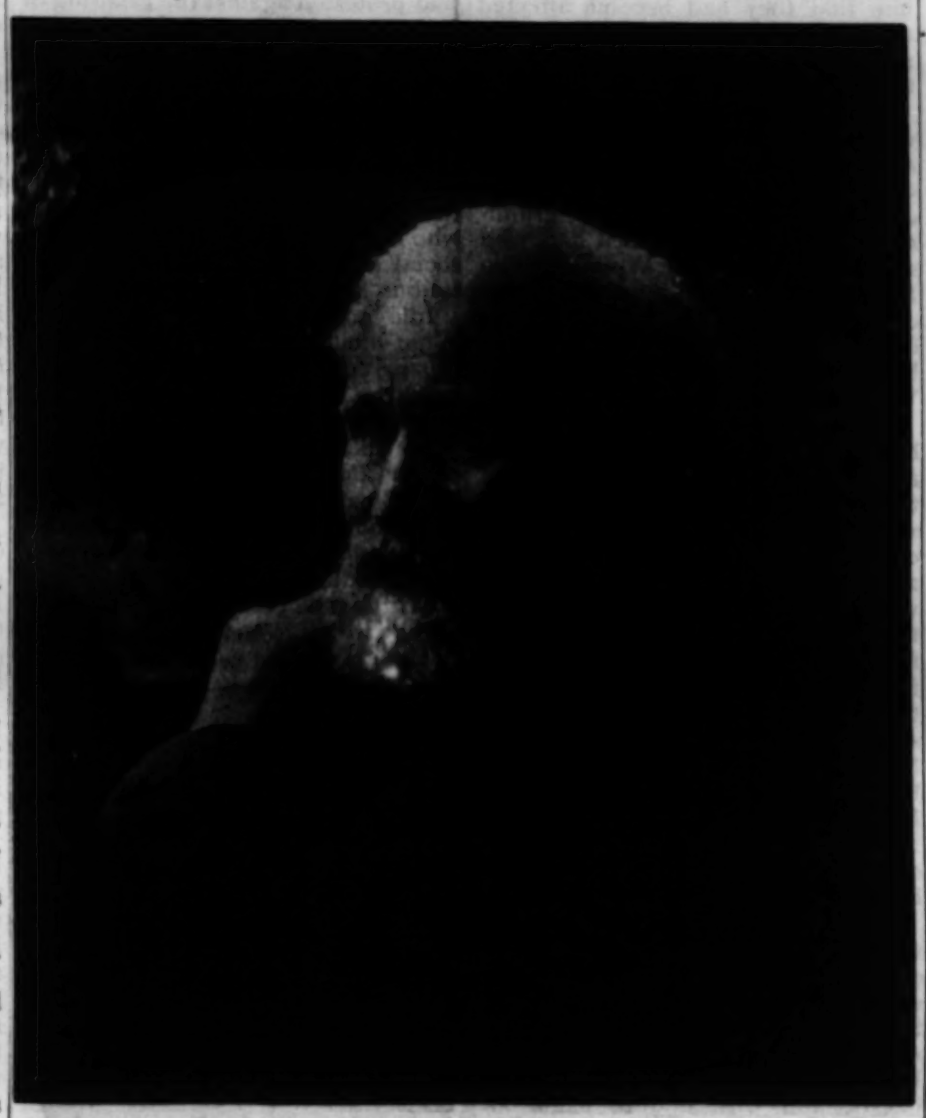
Will you send us new laid eggs, arrowroot, barley, glaxo or virol?

Will you send us a maternity outfit?

We want:—For baby, four gowns, four barrows, two flannel bands, twelve napkins, three vests, and a cot blanket; for mother, two nightgowns, woollen shawl, three towels, two sheets, and a pair of pillow cases.

Mothers and Children should make a point of attending the weekly consultations with nurse and doctor at:—

400 Old Ford Rd., Bow, Mondays 2.30 p.m.; 20 Railway St., Poplar, Tuesdays 3 p.m.; 53 St. Leonard's St., Wednesdays 4.15 p.m.; 55 Fife Rd., Canning Town, Mondays, 2 to 4 p.m.



KEIR HARDIE.

A MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR THE LATE Mr. KEIR HARDIE WILL BE HELD IN THE MEMORIAL HALL, FARRINGDON STREET, on TUESDAY NEXT at 7.30 p.m.

TRAFALGAR SQUARE DEMONSTRATION.

A great Demonstration was held in Trafalgar Square on Sunday 26th September at 4 p.m. At 3 o'clock, the crowd already began to assemble and when the processions from the East End and Highbury Corner arrived, many thousands of people were gathered at each of the Plinths. Speeches demanding the abolition of sweating, equal pay for men and women, votes for women, the abolition of high prices and big profits, no compulsion and no taxation of food or wages, were made from the plinths, and were received with unanimity. The resolutions were carried. The news of Keir Hardie's death, which was announced from the platform at the end of the meeting cast a gloom over the audience who passed the following resolution in silence:—

This meeting expresses "deep sorrow at the news that has just come of the death of Keir Hardie, the veteran who from his childhood has fought the good fight for the people.

Founder of the Labour Party, he had always remained true to his principles, no matter what they cost him.

His spirit remains fighting with us, so long as men, women and children are not secured the necessaries of life."

Buy the "WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT" from your Newsagent, 2s. 2d. a year, or by post from 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E., 4s. 4d.

COAL TO COST MORE.

An increase of 1s. per ton on all kinds of house coal in South London is announced; this raises the general minimum to 30s., as compared with the pre-War minimum of 20s.

The Hammersmith Borough Council, acting on the warning of the Board of Trade to large consumers to store as much coal as possible, has purchased 5,000 tons of Welsh coal to be delivered at the rate, approximately, of 100 tons per week during the year ending July 31st.

What are the small consumers to do?

NATIONAL REGISTER AGAIN!

At the Bristol Police Court, Mrs. Lily Girdlestone, a clergyman's wife, was summoned for refusing to sign her Registration Form. "I have no vote, and, therefore, I am not a citizen, and if you have a grain of justice or logic you will see that I ought not to be classed with idiots and aliens," was one of her reasons for refusing.

She was fined 50s. and a penalty of £1 a day if she did not fill up her Form, failing that, 21 days' imprisonment.

Mrs. Girdlestone refused to pay.

At Aldershot Mrs. Rainey, of Albert Road, Aldershot, was fined a guinea for refusing to register herself under the National Registration Act.

Sunday Meeting,

OCTOBER 3rd.

WOMEN'S HALL, 8 p.m.

Speakers:

Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST,

Mr. B. W. SORENSEN.

DEPUTATION TO THE MINISTRY OF MUNITIONS.

Tired of waiting for Mr. Lloyd George to arrange the promised date for an interview, the E.L.F.S. deputation itself appointed Monday, September 20th, at 3 p.m. Mr. Lloyd George telephoned and wired that he was called away into the country. The deputation therefore appointed Thursday 23rd at the same hour, but when they got to the Munitions Office, Mr. Lloyd George's secretary sent a note that "The Minister" must have a preliminary statement in writing from the deputation before he could consent to give a date for the interview.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst protested that he might have said so earlier, but wrote out the statement then and there. Mr. Lloyd George then sent a note to say that he would see the deputation at 11.15 on the following Monday morning. The deputation agreed to be there on that day.

When the deputation arrived, it was found that Mr. Lloyd George had not returned from his week end and that he had appointed Dr. Addison and a number of "experts" to receive the East London Women. The deputation considered this highly unsatisfactory, but decided for the moment to accept the situation.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, having foreseen the possibility of Mr. Lloyd George not being there, had prepared the following statement in writing:—

1. Wages of women workers as compared with those of the men whom they replace on:

(a) Piece Rates.

These we submit should be the same for women as hitherto paid to men, with the addition of any war bonus or other increase given in the case of men. Where it has been customary to pay for any class of work by the piece, the women engaged on it should always be paid by the piece after a short period of training.

(b) Time Rates.

These should be the same for women as for men.

The Munitions Act establishes this in the case of semi-skilled men who come in to replace skilled men, as follows:

"Where the custom of a shop is changed during the War by the introduction of semi-skilled men to perform work hitherto performed by a class of workmen of higher skill, the time and piece rates paid shall be the usual rates of the district for that class of work."

It may be objected that it is impossible to pay women the same rates as those hitherto paid to skilled men, because as newcomers in the trade they cannot turn out an equal amount of work.

To this we must reply that they are to a large extent in the same position as the men for whom the above clause provides.

We refuse to assent to the view that there is any inherent disability in women, as women, when working at the various forms of munition work in which they are employed.

In support of our view that after a similar period of training women can do this work as well as men, we may quote the statements in the *Engineer* of Sir William Beardmore of Beardmore's Engineering Works, Glasgow.

(Continued on page 329, col. 1)

LEAGUE OF RIGHTS

For Soldiers' and Sailors' Wives and Relatives.

Full particulars from 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

I wish to join the EAST LONDON FEDERATION OF THE SUFFRAGETTES.

Name.....

Address.....

I enclose 1½d. to cover Membership Fee and postage.

E.L.F.S. & R.S.P.U. JOINT SOCIAL COMMITTEE.

A Social will be held in aid of the Nursery Fund, as funds are urgently needed. We trust that all members and friends will rally to make the Social a huge success. It will be held in the Women's Hall, Bow, on Saturday, October 9th.

The

Woman's Dreadnought.

Published by the East London Federation of the Suffragettes,

400 OLD FORD ROAD, BOW, E.

Telephone EAST 1787.

AGENTS:

INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE SHOP, 5 Duke Street, Charing Cross, W.C.; CITY AND SUBURBAN PUBLISHING Co., St. Bride's Churchyard, E.C.; Messrs. HORACE MARSHALL & Co., Temple Avenue, E.C.

Can be obtained at the Bookstalls of Messrs. W. H. SMITH & SONS and Messrs. WILLING.

Annual Subscription: Post free, 4s. 4d.

Vol. II. No. 29—Sat., Oct. 2nd, 1915.

Bravely and willingly we bear our share of the World's burdens. Why, then, deny us the right to Vote, which would dignify our labour and increase our Power of Service?

KEIR HARDIE.

Keir Hardie has been the greatest human being of our time.

When the dust raised by opposition to the pioneer has settled down, this will be known by all.

Fate fitly named this man, who was braver and more steadfast than the general human kind; Keir (Rock was his mother's name, Hardie, his father's). He was a child of nature, akin to the Scotch moors. His father was a fisherman, and he too had the weather-fashioned look of those who follow the calling of the sea. He was built for great strength, his head more grandly carved than any other; his deep-set eyes like sunshine distilled, as we see it through the waters of a pool in the brown earth.

As the years passed, the great brow was seamed with thought and the intense griefs of one who feels sorrow more deeply than others may, but keeps the hurts fast locked within. But he had always the heart of the child near to God, and the child's eager fresh outlook on things beautiful and new. Very dear to him, always were the sky and the hills, and all natural things. To the last year of his life, he watched the flight of a bird as keenly as a boy. Gaily as a child he would catch a bumble bee, that some child might hear its sound, and stronger than the child's was his pleasure in the little spring welling up from the earth, because of his knowledge of the great laws and forces of the universe.

He went to no other school than life. He was at work in the mines at eight years old, but he had had two other experiences of wage earning. First in an architect's office, where he ran errands and in the early mornings dusted and lit the fires. He looked with pleasure at the white sheets of paper, the compasses, and the "nice pencils." He longed for the little square cakes of paint. The architect patted his curly head and called him a "faithful little boy." Next, he went to a baker's and carried to the shops a board of buns and rolls. His mother, whom he loved with a great reverence, taught him to read. He learned shorthand down in the mine, by the light of his pit lamp. When he was older, he studied with the village priest in the evenings for a few months, and had just begun to learn French and Latin when circumstances forced him to leave the village, and to turn to other activities.

The elders of his village had wanted to pay for him to go to the University, as had been done for other promising young men; but he refused to go because he had seen some of tne men who had returned, and it seemed to him that they had become affected and artificial, and had lost their sympathy with the worker from whom they had sprung.

He never lost touch with the old village, the world of folk songs, and stories and the quaint fancies of the child. All his life the little wild daisy reminded him of his grandmother in her white frilled cap, who sang to him "Waley Waley," "The Raggle Taggle Gipsies," and a wealth of other songs, and who would have it that he, and no other, must always be her first visitor, for luck, on New Year's day.

He was a seer and visions came to him. He knew from afar when illness of mind or body threatened those he loved, and a heavy sense of sorrow always warned him of great catastrophes. When, as a child, alone at his post in the mine, his life was once in peril, he saw the apparition of a little boy surrounded by a flaming light. Startled, he ran away from the place of danger to where the men were working, and so was saved. When he described the boy he had seen, and the clothes that the boy wore, the men recognised from his story a child who had been killed in that place a short time before, but of whom Keir Hardie had never heard.

Never following in the usual ways, unless those ways appealed to him on consideration as being best, he spent the warm summer weather in the quarries and the winter in the mines. As he hewed the coal he found fossils of bygone plants and beasts, and with infinite pains he would carve these out in order to see their shape. Many of them he took home and preserved. All his life the actual handling of coal had a fascination for him.

He was beloved by animals, and the pit ponies knew him as their friend. The day he went to the pit a pony, called "Donald," stood stock still, refusing to do his work and would not move, though the boys had piled straw under him and set light to it. Keir Hardie kicked the straw away and soothed the pony, and from that moment he could do with Donald as he would. When the boy left to go to another mine Donald walked into the pool where the ponies drank at night and drowned himself.

Keir Hardie had extraordinary healing power, and an intuition that made him know and understand the workings of other minds, as many who took their troubles for his tender comfort understood.

In his early manhood books on hydropathy were discussed by the members of the Welsh chapels, and the study passed from hamlet to hamlet. The books came to his village and filled him with a vivid interest, poignant, because a little daughter of his had died in a convulsion, and now he learnt how his child might have been treated. Afterwards a little girl in the village was seized with convulsions, and the doctor said that she would die. Keir Hardie treated her and she recovered. Soon he became famous throughout the district for cures of all kinds. The founder of what afterwards became one of the most noted hydros, asked him to go into partnership, but just then he was offered the editorship of the *Cumnock News*. He chose the latter course.

All his life he lived simply and very frugally. In his childhood the family sat in the dark to save the light, and until lately he cleaned his shoes, and made his breakfast every day of the Parliamentary session.

Smoking was his one little luxury. He began it when a child, but gave it up for years after his father died, because he was the eldest son and wanted to bring up his brothers as teetotalers and non-smokers.

He went to none of the official banquets and functions open to Members of Parliament, and he only discovered by accident, when the yearly invitation to the King's Garden Party failed to come, that the invitation was withheld from him and from Arthur Ponsonby, a Liberal, because they had protested against the granting of British aid to the Russian Government for crushing out the Revolution.

Keir Hardie protested against the withholding of the invitation, because he knew that against the majority of Parliamentarians, social ostracism is a very potent weapon, and he wished to break down its use towards those who fight for principle. Against *him* social ostracism and material temptations had no power.

Idle gossip discussed his dress. What should one say of it, but that it was part of him? He had his clothes made by small village tailors, comrades in the Socialist movement. He chose inexpensive stuffs of pleasant colour and texture, and asked that they should be made up without padding, and to fit him easily. His clothes became him well, because they did not hide the man within. It is said that at last he compromised with the prejudices of Parliament, by discarding his tweed cap for a soft felt

The first Votes for Women Meeting ever held in Trafalgar Square, May 19th, 1906.

hat. But he did not care for such prejudices. He put aside his cap when it ceased to suit him, just as he changed his warm, brown homespun coat and red tie for sober greys in his advancing years. What care he took of his dress was but a part of his instinctive love of comeliness and fitness, and his true and exact sense of choice. He always judged unerringly what things look well together, and in what setting a work of art should be.

In furnishings, deep rich colouring, dark polished wood, old silver, highly-finished workmanship, miniature painting and engravings, had a special appeal for him; but he had a wondrously broad appreciation of the many arts and moods of human kind. He was thrilled by the wonderful handicrafts of the Japanese, and regretted their growing commercialisation, saying that they should be kept to making beautiful things for the world.

For many years he had rooms at 14 Nevill's Court, off Fetter Lane, an Elizabethan dwelling, let off in tenements, and the oldest inhabited house in London. He had one large room with a dark, little cupboard kitchen, and a small bedroom—partly partitioned, partly curtained off. In that quiet place were engravings of Robert Burns, Robert Owen, Karl Marx, and William Morris, and one of the great Franchise demonstrations that preceded the Reform Act of 1870. Afterwards, when No. 14 began to fall down, and was about to be demolished, he moved across the Court to No. 10.

In those quiet rooms he would sit working at pressing daily matters far into the night, then to soothe away weariness and discouragement he would turn to books he loved. Burns was his favourite, but his literary sympathies were very broad. Ballads and folk songs charmed him, he collected chap-books, he was intimately familiar with Scott, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Meredith and all the classics, and he managed to keep in touch with most of the modern writers. He was an admirer of Ibsen and Maeterlinck as soon as they could be read in English.

One wondered always at the wealth of things he knew. He seemed ever ready to unravel any mechanical or chemical problem, or to explain and give the history of any theory of religion, philosophy, or politics, but on the rare occasion when he had not grasped the gist of a matter he always said so definitely. He was often silent and would sit listening to others, but he had the talker's gift, and expressed himself in few words clearly and vividly. His friends and comrades would sit listening to him by the hour. He was fond of reading aloud to those he cared for, and he did it well, with a rich music in his voice.

But all these gifts were but as the carpeting grass and flowers on the great mountain side of his life's work. He was the prophet of labour who toiled for the founding of a world of comrades, the seer who foreknew the coming of a better time.

His public work began in the Trade Union movement and his was the most powerful influence in welding it into a coherent and conscious political and industrial force.

The first great joyous revelation of his life was religious. He wished that all might live according to the Sermon on the Mount. When he first heard of Socialism he shrank from it as material, but as he grasped the fulness of its ideal he realised that it could make Christ's teaching practical, and he was filled with an ecstacy which made him want to tell the great truth to everyone he saw. Eventually he came to look upon State Socialism as the necessary prelude to a free Communism.

The first Labour Member of Parliament, he was for years absolutely alone. He held to his independence, untouched by the temptations that assail lesser men.

Almost from his boyhood he toiled strenuously to build up a labour party in the industrial, social and political world; to convert the Trade Unions to the idea of holding aloof from capitalistic politics and running their own candidates; and to preparing the constituencies that should return those candidates. From the time of his election to Parliament to represent West Ham in 1892, when he was 36 years of age, he gained an added power.

It is possible that he was never so lonely and disheartened in those years of preparation, as sometimes after what seemed to the outward world an extraordinarily sudden measure of success had crowned his efforts in 1895-6. A substantial body of colleagues then joined him, and the Labour Party was formed. Then, at last, he must have learnt that he was no ordinary Labour Member, as those others were, but the herald of a coming age. The knowledge must have pained him, for he did not want to be the leader of inferiors, but the comrade of men as true and steadfast as himself. But whatever his disappointments he was ever loyal and brotherly to his colleagues, still striving to make the Labour Party a solid potent force for emancipating the workers, and for establishing the brotherhood of mankind.

He knew that one cannot build up brotherliness whilst one's heart is filled with venom and animosity. He did not say harsh things of other people, except when the public interest necessitated. In private conversation he seldom spoke chidingly even of those by whom he had been most bitterly attacked. He would rather tell one, that some inveterate opponent was very kind to animals or charming in

(Continued on page 331, col. 1.)

(Continued from front page)

He states that the results of women's work in his munition firm are "astounding."

He says: "Whether done by day or by night their work is just as good and just as speedy as that of men."

Sir William Beardmore adds that the women will not admit that the handling of 4·5 inch shells is too heavy for them, even without mechanical assistance or help from the men labourers. More significant than his praise, is his statement that Messrs. Beardmore are increasing the number of their women employees.

Many others have borne similar testimony.

(c) Length of time for training before the standard of wages is paid.

We submit that as soon as possible women engaged on work hitherto done by men must be placed on the ordinary piece or time rates that have obtained in the trade.

During their period of training they should be paid the wage of the man unskilled labourer in the trade. At Woolwich Arsenal the unskilled labourers wage is 25s. a week. Therefore, women engaged on munition work in the Arsenal should be paid 25s. a week during their period of training. In regard to the length of time to be allowed for training, the *Engineer* states that:

In a certain munition factory projectiles were made in sizes up to those required for a 4·5 inch gun, the women, "many of whom were raw hands totally unaccustomed to tools," took two days to learn certain operations, a week to learn others, and ten days to learn the most intricate operations.

(d) Difficulty of providing against evasion of the standard by the employer, where work is re-arranged.

We lay emphasis on the fact that work must be paid for by piece or time, as it has been paid for hitherto, because we know that there is a tendency to so re-arrange the work that it is impossible for each woman to do exactly the same work as each man did hitherto, although the same number of workers may be turning out the same, or even a greater quantity of work in the same space of time.

When we hear of departments being started in which the workpeople are women, "with a few expert men as overseers or teachers," we know that by this means many a well-paid trade has been converted into a sweated trade.

(e) Facts as to what wages are already being paid.

At Woolwich Arsenal men unskilled labourers are paid 25s.

Men engaged on shell filling and other skilled work get a minimum wage of 33s. a week. To this minimum war bonuses have been added, the last of the bonuses alone being 4s. a week. I was told at Woolwich by the Secretary of the Local Workers' Union, that men engaged in filling shells are making up to £4 a week. The men employed at Woolwich Arsenal say that they are not better paid than by ordinary commercial firms.

At the Gramophone Company's works, the women employed in shell filling and in making shell cases are paid 18s. for a 55 hour week when employed by time and average 22s. a week on piece-work rates.

At Bryant and May's factory in Bow, the women were taken on at 14s. a week and it was promised that they should be put on piece-work rates at the end of two weeks, but nearly two months elapsed before piece rates were introduced.

The women are now paid as follows in making hand grenades:—Screwing in dummy fuses 8½d. per thousand. The two quickest workers have done between them 40 trays of 300 in a day, and earned 4s. 3d. each, *i.e.* £1 3s. 4½d. a week. This was the wage earned by the quickest workers, the average was much lower.

Pulling out the dummy fuses, 3½d. a thousand. The two quickest workers have done between them 83 trays of 300, *i.e.* 3s. 10½d. a day each or £1 1s. 4d. a week.

Dropping composition into the top of the fuse, 2½. per thousand. The quickest worker has done 6,000 a day, *i.e.* 1s. 3d. or 6s. 10½d. for a 5½ day week.

Fixing caps to the tops of fuses, 6½d. per thousand. The quickest worker has earned 2s. 6d., *i.e.* 13s. 9d. a week.

At the Igranic Electrical Works, Bedford, girls and women making tubes for submarines are paid 8s. a week. Boys were paid 15s. to 20s. for this work.

At Sparklets, women, some of whom have been employed by the firm for four years, are paid from 3d. to 3¾d. an hour, and only time and one-third for night work. Some of these women worked a week of 88 hours and only earned £1 5s. 0d.

Ten women who were paid 3½d. an hour for fuse work were put on to cartridges at 3d. an hour when work was slack. They protested, and one of the directors promised them that they should not be paid less than 3½d. an hour during the War, but they have been kept at the 3d. rate.

At the Aeroplane Works at Hendon women are doing machine work on steel plates for 3d. an hour. For this work men were paid 10d. an hour. Mr. Graham White pays women 18s. 2d. for the same work.

At Nobel's, women are employed on shell, bullet and cartridge work at 3½d. an hour. They work on eight hour shifts, the time for meals being deducted from their pay.

I have heard from a young woman that she and other women employed at Woolwich Arsenal, (I give this case with reserve, because I have not been able to secure confirmation,) are paid 18s. a week for a 52½ hour week at shell filling, and that they are not paid extra for night shift.

Waring and Gillow pay women 3½d. an hour, men 9d. for military tent work. According to well authenticated reports, women turn out as much work as men.

At Vicker's Munition Factory, Sheffield, the minimum wage for men is £1 6s. 6d. The women are paid as follows:—

18 years and under,	8s.	with 1s. a week war bonus.
19 " " "	11s.	
20 " " "	12s.	
21 " " "	14s.	

After a week of 45 hours at ordinary pay the women may claim time and a fifth for night work, time and a half for Saturday work, and time and three-quarters for Sunday. I had a letter confirming these rates this morning. It is usual in most occupations to pay men time and a half for night work, and double time for Sunday work. We think that women should be paid the same.

Last month I was informed that at the Streetly Ammunition Works, Walsall, women are paid 15s. to 16s. for a 73½ hour week.

The rates at Villiers Engineering Works, Wolverhampton, I also learnt last month. For a 55 hour week they are 6s. for a girl of 14, rising by 1s. a year to 12s at 21.

Information from Croydon I received from a worker there, whose letter I will leave with you, she says that the first few women engaged were paid 12s. 6d., but those who are taken on now get 8s.

2. The dilution of skilled labour by those who come in as unskilled workers.

This cannot be effected without injury to those already in the trade, unless the wages of the newcomers are quickly raised to existing standards.

If dilution of the skilled workers by the unskilled means that the work is to be re-arranged and sub-divided so as to secure that a number of ill-paid workers can be put in with a few well-paid workers over them, to replace a large number of well-paid workers, it will naturally meet with opposition from the skilled workers already employed; and it is certain that after the War the women who have been exploited by the capitalists will be regarded with fierce hostility by the workmen and that very serious trouble will result. Such re-arrangements, we are told, are for the War only. We know that when some arrangement satisfactory to the employers has become crystalised and widespread, it will be extraordinarily difficult to alter the system, especially in a time of trade depression.

Some people may say that because of our losses in the War, there will still be a scarcity of skilled workmen when peace comes.

Even could we believe this, we say that for the young people who will be growing up to take the place of the present workers, it would be a terrible thing that the proportion of well-paid skilled workers to unskilled workers should decrease.

This would be no less a grievous calamity to the country as a whole. We know from our daily experience in East London that it is imperative, in the interests of the country as a whole, that the pay of the so-called unskilled labourer should be raised. The majority of women are unjustly treated as unskilled workers, whatever their work may be, and are paid less even than the lowest paid man labourer.

The high rate of mortality amongst infants and of disease and inefficiency amongst adults is due to the miserable pay of the men unskilled labourers and the majority of women workers. We cannot tolerate that the proportion of people condemned to live under their wretched conditions should be increased. The efficiency of the country as a whole would be enormously increased if the average wage for women and unskilled men labourers were substantially raised.

The tendency to bring women in to do men's work at a lower rate is to be feared all round, not merely in munition work.

I have a copy of a letter from the local Secretary of the Gas Workers' Union, Mr. Hoare, which I will leave with you, in which it is explained that in 1911 his Union organised the employees of Messrs. W. G. Clarke and Sons, Thomas Street, Limehouse. Married men were then getting 17s. 6d. to 20s. per week of 60 hours. By organisation, strikes and negotiations, the wages of the men were raised to 24s. Since the outbreak of War three women were engaged at 14s. a week each, to do the work of taking material from the barge to the warehouse, for which three men had been paid 24s. a week each. Mr. Hoare protested and eventually secured the raising of the women's wages to 16s. and then to 18s. a week. The same firm also employed 14 women at 14s. a week to do the work hitherto done by 14 men at 24s. a week. On protests by the Gas Workers' Union the firm re-adjusted matters so that the 14 women only did the work of ten men.

I have a letter here from Alderman Sheppard, J.P., of Bristol, who tells me of a young woman employed by a bottle manufacturer at 9s. a week to do the work of a young man who has enlisted, and who was paid 17s. a week. He also says that a local brewery firm have taken on women to replace men and are paying them very much less.

Lusty's, packing case makers, of Poplar, pay women 5d. an hour for what men got 10d.

In work connected with the National Health Insurance.

The Hearts of Oak pay men up to 30s. a week, women about half for similar work.

The Prudential pay women clerks £65 per annum, and girls between 18 and 20, 12s. and 13s. a week.

National Union for Insurance pay women 10s., 12s. and 14s. a week, and 3½d. an hour for overtime.

The Insurance Companies state that the grant of 3s. 5d. per member per annum is insufficient, but they are taking on women to do men's work at a lower wage.

Women clerks directly employed by the Government are paid, as you know, less than men.

The Liverpool Victoria Insurance Society pays men 30s. to 35s. a week and commission. The commission only is given to women.

Women booking clerks at Victoria Station are getting 15s. where men got 35s.

3. This brings us to the Question of a Minimum Wage for Women employed on Government Work.

We protest that the minimum wages, varying from 2½d. to 3½d. an hour, which have been fixed by the Trade Boards, were always cruelly inadequate, and are of course, still more inadequate now that the cost of living has risen so enormously.

We have explained that we think that the woman's wage in work where a man's standard has been laid down should be the same as that paid to men.

Where the work has always been done by women, we contend that the woman's minimum wage should be not less than the standard Trade Union wage of the district for the man unskilled labourer; this varies from 5d. to 7d.

Some time ago we published in our paper, THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT, under the heading, "Records of Disgraceful Sweating," particulars as to the wages paid by a number of firms. Amongst these we stated that Maconochies, at their East London works, pay women engaged on Government contract work 13s. 9d. for "trucking," the women having to push trucks weighing from 75 lbs. to 50 lbs. Messrs. Maconochie replied that it was a libel to state that the women were sweated, as "13s. 9d. is the recognised Government rate of pay for women for a 55-hour week." I will leave you a copy of their letter.

We think it a scandalous thing that 13s. 9d. should be the Government rate of pay.

In our view large profits should not be made on Government work, but a high standard of payment should be set.

4. Hours of Labour.

The hours of labour in munition factories are often excessive, so that not only is the health of the workers impaired, but they are liable to incur serious accidents through fatigue.

The Gramophone Company employs women on munitions on two 12-hour shifts, and it is reported to us that many girls fall asleep on the night shift.

At the Igranic Company the regular shift, apart from overtime, is ten hours.

At Sparklet's, women work 10, 11 and 12 hours, apart from overtime.

At the British Association in Manchester, the report of a Committee, presided over by Professor Muirhead, was presented, in which it was shewn from observations taken, that the output of work decreased steadily after the second hour of work. This is not the first time that the fact has been established that the highest rate of efficient production is not secured by forcing the workers to toil for long hours over a lengthened period. We can tell you from our experience with our Federation Toy Factory that we have had better results from a 44-hour week than from a 48-hour week. The increase in lost time during the War is a proof that the overtime is excessive. Some of the women in munition factories have opposed the proposal to introduce an 8-hour day, because when they are paid 3d. and 3½d. an hour they cannot earn enough in eight hours.

We learn that you have appointed a Committee of eleven to enquire into and advise on this question, and, whilst we are glad to learn that two women have been placed on this Committee, we regret that no woman who has actually worked in a factory has a seat on the Committee.

We urge you to appoint committees of the workers in each factory to advise the Advisory Committee that you have appointed. We are certain that many, both major and minor discomforts which impair the efficiency of the workers would thus be brought to the notice of those who

can secure that they shall be remedied, and that many excellent practical suggestions would be made by the workers who have a constant experience of the factory conditions.

5. *With regard to the Profits of Munition Manufacturers and their Limitations* we wish to ask an explanation.

We have understood from Sir John Simon's speech on the Munitions' Act, that if a munition manufacturer produced an output of £100,000 before the War, he may make up to £12,000 profit now, on the same output. If he doubles his output, we understand that he can make up to £24,000 profit; if he doubles it again he can make up to £48,000 profit, and so on.

We should like to ask if that is so, because such a scheme would seem to us highly unsatisfactory.

6. *Munitions Tribunals and the Control of the Workers under the Munitions' Act.*

We have to complain that the Munitions' Act is being used to checkmate just demands for a Trade Union wage.

A fitter's mate, employed by Towler and Innes of Stratford, was paid 6½d. an hour. He complained that he was working under price, but the higher rate was refused. He said that he would go to another munition factory where he could get the Trade Union rate, but was told that permission to leave would not be granted.

At the Caxton Hall Metropolitan Munitions' Tribunal, E. J. Markham asked the Court for a certificate to leave his employers, on the ground that his wage was 4s. below the Trade Union rate, and that he was therefore prevented from becoming a member of the Union, also that he was not paid for overtime. His application was dismissed.

In another case a man engaged in the manufacture of search-lights asked to leave because he was getting a farthing an hour less than the Trade Union rate. The President of the Tribunal refused a certificate on the ground that this was a "minute" question.

Workers appear to have been prevented from leaving for all sorts of really sensible reasons, although the firms by which they are engaged do not keep them occupied. A case of this kind has been reported, in which 151 men were discharged from Armstrong and Whitworth's Openshaw Works, whilst certificates enabling them to get work were withheld.

Trouble has occurred in munition factories which has sprung from all sorts of internal causes, such as the re-arrangement of meal times and failure to produce enough work.

We believe that the best way to obtain the output that you want and to secure harmonious working would be to ask the workers to co-operate in a system of self-government.

We think that the idea ought not to be considered too daring in view of the fact that it has been found successful in schools and penal institutions.

We would urge you, both from this point of view and that of saving expense to the community, to have as large a proportion as possible of the munitions made directly under Government auspices, and as small a proportion as possible made through the medium of private contracts.

In our view the manufacture of armaments should never be placed in private hands.

Miss Pankhurst added that it was said that the Government was making grants for the installation of new machinery, etc., to firms that were newly undertaking munition work.

Dr. Addison declared that that was not so. But he refused to answer Miss Pankhurst's question in regard to the limitation of munition makers' profits.

A Munition Worker.

Miss ——, a munition worker, who had taken a day off from the factory to be present, displayed a fuse, explained how it was made and how the different operations were paid for.

She protested that the rates were too low.

Mrs. Leigh Rothwell.

Mrs. Leigh Rothwell asked why the employer should have the right to discharge employees as he pleased without reference to anyone, though workers might not leave without a certificate from the employer or the Munitions Tribunals. Sparklets were gradually dismissing British women and girls, and employing Belgians in their stead.

She asked whether there was a way to protect women from being forced to work from 7.30 a.m. to 11 p.m., as is done by many munition firms.

She called attention to the great diversity of wages paid by different firms in the same locality for the same kind of work. Sparklets had paid their women a war bonus that in six weeks had only amounted to 4s. 8d. each, whilst Eley's, near by, paid 2s. a week.

She also raised the question of the bad conditions under which munition work is often carried on, many of the women having to stand all day on floors covered with water. Nobels had promised to have the water carried off in pipes, but they had done nothing. Could not the Munitions Office insist on something being done everywhere?

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst suggested that there should be an iron grating raised up from the floor for the workers to stand on. Dr. Addison said he would see what could be done.

Mrs. Drake.

When women replace men at a lower rate of pay, as we have evidence all over the country, the employers do not stop at men of military fitness, but gradually work women right through when they are sufficiently trained. The only protection for little children is equal rate of pay for women on time rates as well as piece, as their fathers are thrown out of work.

The minimum wage must be a living one of 7d. an hour, or 28s. a week of 48 hours.

If women or men are worked continuously for longer than 8 hours they show a falling off of productive power, which may not have mattered while labour was plentiful, but is national suicide at a time like this. We have evidence of this in our own districts where women have visibly declined in the last twelve months on Government work, and will be old women at 30, and not fit to bear children. In better circumstances men are not too old at 60; in Government offices, in fact, they are considered in the prime of life, and this could easily be obtained among the workers by an 8-hour day.

The Munitions Act, instead of aiming at better production, aims at controlling workers more, instead of taking into consideration conditions under which the workers work, and trade union rates of pay. Its object should be the output in the interest of all. At the present it is simply a slave driver for the workers, causing great bitterness and having a prejudicial effect on everything.

The committees set up to deal with the question of women's labour as replacing the labour of men are a scandal, as only two women are on them. This is owing to women's voteless condition, but should be at once remedied by placing women only and entirely on committees to manage the conditions, hours, and wages of women and girls.

COMMENT.

Re profits of munition manufacturers. — The Government should manufacture all their own munitions, and as they press or commandeer men into the national service, this power should be fully used in the case of everything, from the highest to the lowest, in this time of need.

A working man, earning 30s. weekly, with five per cent. War bonus making 31s. 6d., allows his wife 27s. weekly (four children, husband and wife)—

	s.	d.	
Rent	7	6	weekly.
Insurance..	1	0	1d. each child, 2d. mother, 2d. father, old people 4d.
Drapery ..	1	0	for sheets, curtains, clothes etc., weekly.
Gas	2	6	1d. in slot for cooking and light.
Bread	4	4½	2 loaves a day at 3½d. a loaf.
Tea	1	1	½ lb. at 2s. 2d.
Sugar	1	0	3 lbs. at 4d.
Meat.....	3	0	to last the whole week.
Margarine.	0	6	1 lb.
Butter	0	5	¼ lb. at 1s. 8d. a lb., so that baby can have some.
Milk	0	9	4d. tin, condensed; 5d. cow's milk.
Jam	0	9	2 lb. pot.
Bacon	0	8	4 rashers or slices.
Dinners ..	3	6	husband's food at work.
	28	0½	

You see this total is more than the allowance, and the woman has to do odd jobs at charing, and gets into debt, as a number of necessaries are not included; but these are the main regular expenses.

Mrs. Bouvier.

Mrs. Bouvier said that as a Russian subject, the Munitions Act seemed to her a departure from British justice and the introduction of justice *à la Russe*. The great fundamental principle of British justice had been that the accused must be considered innocent until proved guilty. But this principle did not appear to rule in Munitions Tribunals. In the Cammell Laird case at the Liverpool Munitions Tribunal, the men had not been allowed to state their case.

Mrs. Bouvier also protested against the action of a Sheffield firm that had docked the wages of the women employees for the three hours during which lights had been put out, and they had been compelled to stay in darkness for fear of Zeppelin raids. Women were specially helpless because they were deprived of the vote.

Mrs. Cressall.

Mrs. Cressall said she wanted to put the point of view of the mother of a family. Her husband had worked at a certain white lead works for seventeen years, and for 60 hours a week was paid 26s. That firm was now gradually discharging the men and taking boys in their places at 17s. a week. Other firms were taking women to do the same work at an even lower wage. If this went on, the men's wages would certainly be reduced. Her husband's wage was a starvation wage as it was. There were five children, and though she herself toiled at home to earn a few shillings, she did not think she could continue to manage, now that prices were so high.

Mrs. Pascoe.

Mrs. Pascoe said that she was the breadwinner of her family as her husband was an invalid. She was cook in a nursery at a guinea a week. If she were to be taken away to work in a munition factory at a lower wage, it would be a very great hardship.

Dr. Addison.

Dr. Addison then replied that the Munitions Department had the various problems acutely in mind.

A committee on skilled and unskilled labour had been formed, and on this committee of 14 there were eight labour representatives and two women. The deputation said in chorus that two representatives were too few.

He said that skilled labour would not suffer as it was much in demand, and refused to meet the point as to what might happen after the war.

He said that a great deal was being done to meet the points raised about women's labour.

The Government wanted to get the women on to piece rates and to arrange a fair minimum wage. When it was fixed, it would surprise *some people*, but everything took time, and there were 700 munition factories.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst said: Well, to save time, why don't you fix for the women in every factory the rates that you pay to men in Woolwich Arsenal?

Dr. Addison did not reply, but went on to say that the Cammell Laird case was one the Government had decided to look into.

Dr. Addison said that the Government could not fix rates of wages, except in controlled factories, although the Munitions Act would prevent the workers leaving without permission, or going on strike. But one of the experts interrupted him by saying that the Government could fix the wages in all the munition factories.

Another expert said that in one factory he knew of, the women could earn up to £3 a week.

Miss Pankhurst said: "Can you tell us which it is?" He said: "I could, but I will not!"

With regard to the question of the workers in the factory sitting on committees to advise the Advisory Committee on fatigue, Dr. Addison said that the trade unions had already been asked to form advisory committees in each district, and thus the point was already met. His explanation did not give the deputation a very clear idea of what is being done. The gist of Dr. Addison's remarks was that the Munitions Office is going to set up perfect conditions in regard to wages, hours and comfort, even the housing of the workers will not be overlooked. We shall see.

MUNITION WORKER'S LETTER.

Dear Miss Pankhurst,

The first few women who entered the factory at which I work in Croydon (Government Contractors) received 12s. 6d. a week, with the bait held out to them that under the premium bonus system which is in vogue, the women would be able to earn £1 a week.

I am not expecting the bonus to come through for another fortnight, so I cannot tell you yet what they will really make.

The new hands they are taking on are only to receive 8s. a week, with a promise that when they know their work they will have a rise!!!??? I find the promises are many—but they do not materialise.

Take off the insurance 3d., and unemployment contribution 5d. (as the women are in an insured trade), and that reduces the women's wages horribly—already the women are coming to me to say they cannot live on them—some have children to keep.

Three weeks ago the firm closed the applications list with 500 on their books—this makes the employers very independent—at the same time it does not pay them to "sack" a hand that knows her work, and take on a fresh one.

The profits (I hear) all around are very large, and the Government (so I am told), since Lloyd George has been in control of the Munitions Department, is shovelling out the money to help contractors buy machinery.

Some of the Trade Union Societies are passing Resolutions for women to have £1 minimum—I should like to know how they are going to enforce it.

You ask about the work done—we make bomb fuses—we also have two women on capstans, they both receive 12s. 6d., with a promise of a rise in three weeks time. Hours for all so far are 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., with one hour for dinner—no tea, no mid-morning lunch—eat on the benches.

TRAINING FOR 14s. A WEEK.

The Ministry of Munitions requested the London County Council to conduct a six week course to train munition workers.

About 600 men and women are attending these courses, but the Council takes no responsibility for finding employment.

Won't the Ministry of Munitions see to that?

An Oxford Professor reports the results of an investigation of industrial fatigue:—Thursday and Friday workers are more easily fatigued than on Monday. In one case the contrary was noticed, but on investigation the Professor found that the "manager was absent."

Surely this proves workers left to themselves can divide their work better and escape unnecessary fatigue!

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

(*Continued from page* 328.)

private life. He recognised the better side of every human being with whom he came in contact, and would speak with pleasure of the gifts of men who towards himself had been guilty of gross disloyalties. And yet he was ever steadfastly uncompromising when principle was at stake.

One of the outstanding features of his years of absolute isolation as the sole Labour Member was his fight for the unemployed. He marched with the workless men and women from East London, and forced their need upon the hide-bound consciousness of Parliamentary ears.

For his contention that workless men and women have a claim upon society to be provided with work, he was ridiculed and most angrily abused. But by the poor and those who understood him he was greatly loved. I remember, as a child, before I had ever seen Keir Hardie, hearing my father's voice thrilling with emotion in praising his struggle for the unemployed. Walter Crane drew him carrying the unemployed workman on his back into the Houses of Parliament. To Walter Crane he was ever the ideal workman, and his drawings of emancipated labour were all derived from him.

Had Keir Hardie lived in a communistic world, he would have been a great painter, writer or musician, a craftsman and a creator of beautiful things. In our age he was the friend of human kind.

No body of people struggling for freedom ever appealed to him in vain, and for this he was beloved by men and women of every race and creed. The people of India adored him, because he passed amongst them as simply and humbly as a brother. They garlanded him and pressed their offerings on him, but they pained their friend by treating him as superhuman and prostrating themselves in multitudes before his face. From the little girl in one of the rare Indian schools who gave him a locket she had painted, to the old princesses speaking through a curtain, he was welcomed and trusted everywhere he went.

At home in Britain, none had more reason to be grateful to him than the little band of women who broke out of the I. L. P. to fight for their enfranchisement, and to found a growing body of militant suffragettes.

He collected funds for us, wrote leaflets for us, taught us Parliamentary procedure, introduced us to helpful men and women, spoke for the cause of women's enfranchisement, both in Parliament and out. He visited us in prison, and strove to procure ameliorations of our lot. When forcible feeding was started in 1909, he was filled with a horror and concern which made him physically ill. He was ridiculed for his protests in Parliament against the outrage, but he continued to raise the question persistently.

He toiled to awaken the members of the Parliamentary Labour Party and the Labour movement as a whole, to the great need for the enfranchisement of women, and for the comradeship of working women with working men. He scarcely made a speech without dwelling upon this, and when enthusiasts asked him to write a motto, he would choose "Votes for Women, and Socialism for all."

He made the labour movement a coherent political force. He made the need of the unemployed a political question. So too he helped to bring votes for women into the range of practical politics. It had dropped away from amongst the political possibilities, and even before the militant tactics he had begun to drag it back. Bamford Slack actually won the day on which the Bill was introduced on May 12th, 1905. But it was through Keir Hardie's agency that the day was given to votes for women. In the House as out of the House, Keir Hardie set the example of taking votes for women seriously, and it was an example sorely needed in those days.

All might read of Keir Hardie's public utterances, few could know of his ceaseless work behind the scenes. In Parliamentary Committees he was ever vigilant. One of the many reforms he secured unnoticed was the right of the illegitimate child to benefit under the Workman's Compensation Act. Many of the amendments which were eventually moved by other members of his Party were actually drafted by him.

No Member of Parliament was so persistent as he in sifting cases of hardship. For months he worked to secure compliance with the Fair Wages Resolution by the great Steel Manufacturers of Dowlais, and eventually he succeeded in getting enormous increases in the wages. We of the E.L.F.S. knew that we could always turn to him for aid on such questions. He helped us, amongst other things, in securing a substantial increase in the piece rates of Kent's brushmakers.

He was one of the great founders of the International Labour and Socialist Movement, and attended socialist congresses in foreign countries year by year.

He was revered by the labour movement of every country, and the awakened workers mourn him in every land to-day.

He was ever keenly conscious of other people's sorrows. A mining or railway disaster was to him always a sharp personal grief. The War came to his sensitive soul as a hideous nightmare of horror. He was overwhelmed by the awful knowledge that his brothers were destroying each other all over the world.

He strove always for peace, the peace of free enlightened peoples. He had hoped that the strength of the growing socialist movement would make this War impossible. Undoubtedly his grief hastened the ending of his life.

The harsh and unjust abuse that was showered upon him was a crucifixion to his sensitive heart that so deeply loved mankind. Even by the roadside and in the railway carriage it met him because he was recognised by all. But never in all his life did he flinch from the course that he thought right. It was characteristic that he rarely replied to the many false statements that were made about him or attempted any self-defence.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

OFFICERS v. PRIVATES.

The Select Committee on Pensions and Grants to Army and Navy Officers and their Relatives has decided that disabled officers, below the rank of colonel in the Army, and captain in the Navy, shall receive pensions of from £150 to £350 a year, according to rank and length of service. For the loss of an eye or limb there is to be a gratuity of £250 and £100 a year. For complete loss of sight £300 a year. Widows whose husbands were killed in action, died of wounds, or violence due wholly to War Service are to have a pension of £100 a year, and £24 for each child.

Widows, whose husbands died of disease due to War Service, £75 a year, with £20 for each child.

Widows, whose husbands died of disease or accident, not due to War Service, £50, and £16 for each child.

The Army Council may further make education grants of £35 a year for a boy, and £25 a year for a girl. We note teat equality of opportunity for girls and boys is not given.

Compare these pensions with those of the privates and their widows and you will agree it is no wonder that middle-class men refuse to enlist unless they can be officers!

In the House of Commons on September 23rd, Mr. Hogge pointed out that the Soldiers' and Sailors' Help Society is enabled to assist disabled men for one month only!

We know that more than a month frequently elapses before pensions are forthcoming.

A Surrey Camp was raided by the police and 47 workmen were arrested on the charge of having Army stores in their possession.

The usual reply given by the men when asked how they got the stores was: "I bought them from a soldier," or "I found them at the camp.

It is time to put the camps in order and see that the *military* cease to appropriate Army stores!

WOMEN IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

The Hungarian Women's Suffrage Society has continued its efforts during the War unabated.

The Coalition opposition parties of the Parliament are pressing for the enfranchisement of all the men who have fought in the War. The women suffragists replied with an address to these parties, calling for the enfranchisement of women as a matter of urgency and justice, especially as women must now undertake a large share of industrial work.

In Terre Haute, in the State of Indiana, U.S.A., the women's clubs have been struggling to put an end to corruption in city politics for some time.

At the last November elections 400 women watched at the polling booths with note-books and cameras. Many of the women had their cameras smashed, and their note-books snatched away, but they retained enough evidence to lay a serious complaint before the Governor of the State.

The Governor refused to act, and the women, therefore, carried their complaint to the Federal Court.

An inquiry was held which led to the conviction and imprisonment of the Mayor, and a number of other prominent politicians.

The Board of Administration of the State of Illinois, U.S.A., where women have the vote, has decreed that all women employed by the State shall receive the same pay as men for the same work, and that there shall be the same minimum wage for men and women.

This will affect 3,500 women. The women voters of Illinois will keep the State Board up to the mark, and see that it does not break its promise as Lloyd George has done!

The women of Topeka, the capital of the State of Kansas, U.S.A., organised a Public Health Nursing Association in 1913. By the power of their votes they have induced the State to take steps to safeguard the welfare of mothers and babies. As a result, the infant death rate has fallen from 12 per cent. in 1913, to 9 per cent. in 1915.

The order to remain indoors after nine in the evening, does not apply to British born wives of alien enemies, but these women may not travel five miles beyond their homes without special permission.

SWEATING!

For the manufacture of pickles, preserves and confectionery, minimum rates have been set up by the Irish Trade Board as follows:—

10s. 10d. for women of 18 years and upwards, and 22s. 9d. for male workers of 22 years and upwards. For younger workers the rates begin for girls at 5s. per week, and for boys at 6s.

In order to avoid paying the wretchedly low minimum rates for adult women, Messrs. Williams and Woods of Dublin, served notices of dismissal on 150 women and girls, some of whom had worked there for 15 years, and prepared to take on girls under 18 in their places.

Is this patriotism?

The following advertisement has appeared in the Press:—

"Women wanted for factory on Government work; wages starting 3d. per hour. London Tinplate Co., 384 Old Street, Shoreditch (down gateway)."

Mr. Walter Long, President of the Local Government Board, states that out of the Prince of Wales' Fund, which amounts to over five million pounds, only £364,645 has been spent on the relief of civil distress. Yet there is acute distress in many watering places, and especially in the Isle of Man, and the employees in certain Government departments and private firms are still being induced to pay a proportion of their wages into the Fund week by week.

Distress Committees are to be done away with, the officials are to get other employment. What about those who are in need or unemployed?

COMPULSION BY EMPLOYERS.

Before the Munitions Act Barrow employers had already a system which made it impossible for workers to pass freely from one factory to another, and obliges them to present a "clearance card" from the old employer, without which the new employer will refuse to give them work.

Mr. Anderson recently drew the attention of the Munitions' Minister to the fact that a number of girls applied for munition work at Messrs. Vickers, but were refused, although suitable for the work, because the Kellner Partington Pulp Co., Barrow-in-Furness, with whom the girls were working, refused to give the girls such clearance cards.

At the Metropolitan Munitions' Tribunal a workman, named Tullet, complained that he was ten days out of work because his last employer would not give him a leaving certificate. The certificate was granted him, but costs were refused.

At a sitting of the General Munitions Tribunal in Glasgow, 26 workmen were charged with striking on August 26th, and remaining idle since then. They were employed at the Fairfield Shipbuilding Co. on Munitions work.

Seventeen of the men were sentenced to a fine of £10 each, or imprisonment for 30 days.

In the House of Commons on September 21st, Mr. Alden asked the Minister of Munitions whether he knew that at Woolwich Arsenal some thousands of boys of 14, 15 and 16 years are working from 8 p.m. to 8 a.m. on night shifts, and that many of them live a long distance from work?

Dr. Addison stated that the boys worked 10½ hours, both for day and night shifts, which means that the boys work 12-hour shifts, with 1½ hours deducted for meals. He also said that hostels were being erected for them, and that a Committee had been formed to inquire into the question of fatigue. We are always told that everything is going to be done presently. We wish that presently with all its wonderful promises would begin!

In the House of Commons on September 23rd, Mr. Currie asked whether Messrs. Brunton, wire-workers, Musselburgh, Midlothian, were endeavouring to engage munition workers at 5d. an hour.

Dr. Addison could give no information.

In the House of Commons on September 21st, Mr. Lloyd George admitted, in reply to Mr. King, that six persons have been appointed to work under the Ministry of Munitions at a total annual charge to the country of £13,100. In addition, 15 Government servants—whose services have been lent by other departments—with official salaries of £1,000 a year each or more!

Sweated workers in munition factories "please note"!

In the House of Commons on September 21st, Mr. Runciman stated in reply to Sir C. Kinlock-Cooke that the total number of women whose names had been entered on the War Service Register up to September 10th was 110,714.

The total number of effective entries was 59,214. Employment had been found for 5,511. In addition, employment had been procured for about 145,000 women from the ordinary register.

In the House of Commons on September 22nd, Mr. W. Thorne stated that he knew of a skilled engineer, who is out of work, whose name had been on the Voluntary Munitions Register for 13 weeks. He added that he knew of other engineers in like case.

On September 15th, Mr. Lloyd George stated in the House of Commons that there had been 16 prosecutions of workmen under the Munitions Act, and seven prosecutions of employers; also that 136 men had appealed against the unreasonable withholding by their employers of certificates entitling them to leave. Mr. Lloyd George did not say how many appeals had been successful.

EAST LONDON FEDERATION OF THE SUFFRAGETTES.

OBJECTS: To secure the Parliamentary Vote for every Woman over 21, and to promote the Social and Industrial Welfare of Women. Entrance Fee ... 1d. Subscription ... 1d. a Month

BRANCH REPORTS.

BOW.

400 OLD FORD ROAD, BOW.

There were good audiences at all the platforms in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, and altogether it was a fine Demonstration. Now that this excitement is over we have to devote our energies to our ordinary work. The meetings on Tuesday afternoon and the Sunday evening meetings should both be better attended. Members tell your friends about them! On Sunday next the speakers will include Mr. Sorensen, the well-known lecturer, whose speeches we enjoyed so much last winter.

Our Debate last Friday was much enjoyed by all. Next Friday the subject will be "The Budget," and the Debate will be in the form of Parliament; Miss Smyth will take the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Dreadnoughts sold week ending Sept. 25th—1,623. Mrs. Crabb 277, Miss O'Brien 200, Mr. Payne 52, Mrs. Savoy 24, Mrs. Farrall 24, Miss Bennett 22, Special Meetings 637, City and District—Mrs. Holloway 357.

POPLAR.

THE WOMEN'S HALL, 20 RAILWAY ST.
Organiser: MRS. DRAKE.

Mrs. Cressall and Miss Pankerd spoke on Tuesday; Miss Chesley on Friday afternoon. There have also been excellent open air meetings this week, at which a good number of Papers were sold. The subscriptions amounted to 13s. for August, and September's are now due. Will members make a special effort to get a friend to join, to help to swell our subscriptions?—1d. a month, and 1d. to join.

Best thanks to members and friends who worked so well in the Demonstration on Sunday.

The photos of our Milk Babies and our Members at Richmond are now to be obtained in our office at 4d. and 3d. each.

Collections this week: Miss Bennett £1, Mrs. Schlette 3s. 2d., Miss C. Dent 2s. 2½d. (at Trafalgar Square); Miss Morley and Miss E. Lagsding 14s. (at Cubitt Town); Mrs. Drake 13s. 9½d. (at "Green's.")

Paper sales are better; *Dreadnoughts*, week ending Sept. 25th, 605. Miss Bennett 106, Miss P. Lagsding and Miss T. Barker 126, Miss J. Watts 35 (Trafalgar Square).

Mrs. Schlette has been selling more lately, and we have omitted by mistake to mention how many; 56, 57, 65 have been her sales for the last three weeks. These are not included in this week's figures.

We have tickets on sale here for Joint Social, in aid of Babies' Nursery, to be held on Saturday, Oct. 9th, 8 p.m. Tickets 3d. each. Please support this.

Do not forget our next Sunday meeting, Oct. 10th, 8 p.m. Ladies and gentlemen invited.

Poplar members are asked to come to Debates at 400 Old Ford Road. These are very interesting.

HACKNEY.

Offices: 175 DALSTON LANE
(Facing Hackney Downs Station).
Papers can be obtained at this address at any time.

Miss Pankhurst will speak on Thursday evening at 175 Dalston Lane. Members should make a point of coming and bringing friends. Meetings will also be held every Tuesday afternoon. These should be better attended. Will members volunteer to help with canvassing and in making our meetings better known? Members should try to go to the Debates at the Bow Women's Hall on Friday evenings—a very entertaining evening can be spent there.

Dreadnought sales are unavoidably held over till next week.

SOUTH WEST HAM.

Centre for Tidal Basin: 55 FIFE ROAD.
Branch Meetings:
124 BARKING ROAD, THURSDAYS, 8 P.M.

The "Peacock" meeting was postponed owing to the General Meeting. Will friends please note this happens once a month? Mrs. Bouvier addressed the meeting at 124 Barking Rd. on Thursday, and very few people turned up. Will some folk canvass so that this can be remedied? A splendid meeting was held at the "Boleyn" on Saturday, when Miss Lynch and Miss O'Callaghan spoke, and 115 Papers were sold. We are expecting Miss Beamish to be in the district again, now she has recovered from her illness, and she needs a lot of help to keep her well. So please come and give your offers of help.

KEIR HARDIE.

The E.L.F.S. sent as a tribute of reverent love and gratitude a laurel wreath tied in the colours. Members who wish to contribute may still do so.

In the House of Commons on Sept. 23rd, Mr. Barnes stated that rents of small house property in Glasgow had been increased from £1 to £3 per annum during the War.

When you are buying your Autumn clothes, remember our Garment Stalls in the East End, where new and second-hand clothes are always needed. Parcels should be sent to Miss Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

WOMEN AND THE WAR.

Extracts from a speech by CLARA RAZAZ, at the General Meeting of the Swiss Suffrage Society in Biel.—From *Jus Suffragii.*

Many orthodox Suffragists say that of course this war would never have broken out if women had had a share in the decision. And yet I cannot agree that woman with political rights would have prevented the war; woman, like so much else, has been a disappointment. We cannot complain that, uninformed, badly organised, and politically helpless, she did not prevent the world-war; but we must deeply regret her attitude towards it. Some indeed—all honour to them—have condemned war, instead of their opponents, have preached love, and not hate, and have devoted themselves whole-heartedly to the study of the causes of war and the means of preventing it. But the great mass of women share in the prevailing war fever, in admiration for military technique and organisation, in hatred for their enemies, in fear to take part in peace movements in preaching "endurance" till an "honourable peace," and all the other fine phrases. They have, it is true, accomplished marvels in practical work and devotion; but it has been *for* war, not *against* it.

If we women feel war as a crime, we cannot throw all the blame on men, but must admit that, as we are to-day, we should not have prevented it, even with the vote. As a matter of fact, the decision of war and peace is not left to the population, who have to pay for it with their blood. Neither men nor women have any knowledge of what goes on in the offices where these decisions are taken. They are confronted only with accomplished facts, and these facts have a different aspect in each country; and the citizen, whether male or female, is presented with facts only in the guise that serves the interests of the Government. Each Government shows itself to its people as a blameless innocent, and the strange thing is that the very people who formerly were foremost in criticising and mistrusting their Government, now accept its word as Gospel truth and swallow all that is offered them about the "holy war of defence!"

Women are taken in by the deception as well as men, and would not have opposed war any more than men have. Is Woman Suffrage, then, useless? Is the struggle for peace useless, because it has been powerless to avert this war? No; in spite of all disappointment, onward with the women's movement and the peace movement! The woman's movement is part of the upward movement of woman and humanity. Why have we women failed? Because we were too little ourselves, because we are too dependent on man; because we still believe that the world, as men have made it for themselves and for us, is the only right one.

We have borne social conditions against which we ought to have revolted. We have borne the injustice in women's position that showed itself in a hundred different ways, in the exploitation of her labour, in her under-payment, in the denial of political rights, and in prostitution. Those of us who have fought against these things have had to contend with the indifference of many of our own sex. Many, indeed, pride themselves on taking the man's point of view, instead of feeling and acting as women.

Woman, of herself, would not glory in the winning of battles and the sinking of ships. As a woman, she would have felt for individual suffering, she would have thought of the anguish of mothers and wives, and would have cursed the victory that sacrificed the young lives and hope of the future. But she has not thought her own thoughts; she has taken over the tradition of men, and been caught up in the great stream, and joined in the jubilations, as well as in the suffering.

We see the same thing in Socialism, and its fall from internationalism to nationalism. Those who have been so often reproached with want of patriotism and class feeling have gloried in proving their patriotism and self-sacrifice. But it is no service to humanity, that one sex or one party should sacrifice to the other its own special duty and function.

If we women have only the same things to offer as men, and if the Socialists had nothing different from other parties to contribute to political life, neither would have the same claim to recognition, as if they remained true to the human ideals they have attained through suffering. These ideals are the setting of a higher value on human life. Society at present values things more than people. Industry must flourish; the worker and the worker's child may wither.

The State must be glorified by its military power, and therefore milliards must be wrung from the people for armaments, and the same State does not feel itself dishonoured if the mass of its citizens are exploited and exhausted by the same governing caste. The State claims political freedom and independence, but no individual may claim them. The State demands devotion and love from its children, but wretched industrial conditions show that it does not give love and care in return. Money is grudged to improve social conditions which would maintain human life, but freely spent for military purposes in the destruction of life. They tell us, indeed, that this is necessary for self-protection. Where would the nations be to-day without this military protection? Yes, indeed, where *would* they be? *Where are they to-day?* In the trenches, on the battlefields, on the sea, in the air, inflicting torture and death on each other; crippled, torn to pieces, physically and mentally wrecked! Hundreds of thousands dead, homes destroyed, sorrowing widows and orphans, *there are the nations to-day!* And where might they be if they had made the State their servant, instead of their idol; if they had put the idea of humanity above that of the State; if all the brains and zeal that have been devoted to gaining predominance for any one State had been given to establishing good inter-State relations and securing peace, instead of bringing on war by piling up armaments? We, both man and woman, have worshipped false gods—he by worshipping force, we by giving in to him. And in this crisis we must look to men to help as much as to women. It may be that the ideals that man has allotted to women as being inconvenient for himself are the true human ideals, for which both must strive.

We must wage war, not *with* but *against* cannon, battleships, and airships; and that will be a hard task, for they have become the idols of the peoples. And we must fight *against* the State that exists only for itself, and *for* the State that exists for the people; *against* the State that settles its diplomatic difficulties by bringing millions to death and destruction, and *for* the State that acts only with and for its people, for their happiness, and with their knowledge and consent.

The vote will help women only if used in the right spirit for the good of humanity. But it will be the symbol of woman's share in responsibility for public events.

"DREADNOUGHT" BADGES.

To those who have sold 1,000 copies of the WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT, the E.L.F.S. presents a special graduation badge in the colours. To this badge, a bar is added for every additional 1,000 papers sold.

Mrs. Schlette, Mrs. Payne, Mrs. Parsons, Mrs. Millo, Miss O'Brien, Mrs. Crabb, Mrs. Bird, Miss Marks, have all won these badges, and Miss O'Brien has gained three bars. Will other members who have qualified, apply for their badges or additional bars to the DREADNOUGHT secretary?

VARIOUS VIEWS.

"Will someone who believes that morality need not be, nor usually is, ignored in commerce, explain why what was bought by a trader last month at 1s. and sold at 1s. 3d. is now fairly charged 1s. 6d., because next month or next year the trader can only buy at 1s. 3d.? One cannot wonder at the general discontent, and regret that the action of the Government to frustrate the politics and upset the knavish tricks of these domestic enemies has been so partial and so feeble."—CANON HORSLEY in the *Daily News.*

"Why should we only control engineering shops making shells and not the prices of the material which the Government wants to buy? The financial burden is very great; it is so great that we bear it smilingly, because we cannot realise how much it is. We ought, however, to do something to lighten it."—SIR ALFRED MOND in the House of Commons.

Mr. Long says that "the Empire is at grips with other Powers, in a struggle for existence. We are fighting for the principles of liberty for nations, and freedom for *individuals*, and we are determined that those immortal principles shall be preserved."

We should like to know what Mr. Long means by freedom for individuals. The Government appears to us to be taking away the freedom of the workers as quickly as it can!

If Britain had attempted to become a powerful military nation as well as the supreme naval power, the dogma of the balance of power would have grouped European nations against Britain, instead of Germany, and will do so in the future if we attempt to follow in the footsteps of that country.—GEORGE BENSON.

"I think that we are entitled, when we are asked to vote this vast sum of money, to know what are the objects and the policy which His Majesty's Government intend to pursue with regard to the future of the War."—Mr. D. MASON speaking on the Vote of Credit.

A soldier from the firing line in Gallipoli, whose letter is published in the *Manchester Guardian*, says: "The worst of this place is that there is no news, and no one seems to know in the least what is happening." It is refreshing to hear the truth!

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND.—Alpha Union 2.0.0, Miss E. Finke 1.0.0, Member's Subscriptions (Hackney) 3.9, Miss M. Burgess 3.6½, Miss L. Robinson 2.0.

TOWARDS EXPENSES OF THE TRAFALGAR SQUARE DEMONSTRATION.—Donations on Plinth 5.16.8½, Anon 2.0.0, Royal Army Clothing Employees' Union 1.0.0, Mrs. Rowan (collected) 17.8½, Mrs. Crabb (collected) 15.9, Mrs. Savoy (collected) 11.5½, Deptford Naval Storeworkers' League 10.0, Barbers and Hairdressers Assistants' Union 5.0, National Union Railwaymen (Kentish Town Branch) 5.0, E. P. Pearce, Esq 5.0, Mrs. Richmond 5.0, Anon (collected) 4.4, Mrs. Eglinton (collected) 1.4.

FOR MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Mrs. and Miss Kingsland 8.0.0, Samuel H. Scott, Esq 5.0.0, Mrs. Le Lacheur 5.0.0, C. E. Foster, Esq. and Mrs. Wooldridge 5.0.0, Mrs. Cator 3.0.0, Miss O. M. Willis 2.10.0, Miss G. Brackenbury 2.0.0, Toolroom, etc., L.S.A. 1.9.5, per Mrs. Burton 1.6.0, Miss M. Holmes 1.0.0, Miss E. Thomson 1.0.0, Mrs. Singer (monthly) 1.0.0, Mrs. Pearce-Serocold 1.0.0, Miss D. E. Brown 16.0, Miss Garrood and friends 15.0, T. Stenhouse, Esq 11.6, Miss Sybil A. Blunt 10.0, Miss H. M. Lawrence 10.0, Miss Widdicombe 10.0, Mrs. Richmond (5.0 weekly) 10.0, Mr. and Misses Escombe 10.0, Mrs. Shearman 10 lire, Miss Norah Paget 8.2, Mrs. Skeate 7.6, Misses E. H. and M. A. Entwistle 6.0, Anon (Sutton) 5.0, Miss E. A. Warner 5.0, E. H. Thom, Esq 5.0, Mrs. Daubin 5.0, Mrs. Mackenzie-Kennedy 5.0, Miss E. H. Jenkins 4.0, J. Singer, Esq 4.0, West Adams 3.6, Miss M. B. Vibert 3.6, Miss D. M. Parker 2.6, Mrs. Heywood Bright (weekly) 2.6, Mrs. Simpson (weekly) 2.6, Mrs. Leon 2.6, E. R. 2.0, Miss I. Jones (weekly) 2.6, E. H. Johncock, Esq 1.0, Miss J. Brown 0.6

COLLECTIONS.—Trafalgar Square 1.5.0, Bow Milk 1.1.1½ Miss Chesley 15.3, Misses Lagsding and Morley 13.3½, Bromley Milk 13.3, Mrs. Crabb 11.6, Mrs. Drake (outside Green's) 9.4, "The Mother's Arms" 8.10, Miss O'Brien 8.1½, Mrs. Fix 1.9, Anon 0.9, Anon 0.8½.

CLOTHING, ETC.—Miss Collier, Mrs. Hyde, Mrs. M. Ward, Miss A. Warren, Miss Udnay, Anon, Miss Morgan-Jones, Anon, Miss M. Burgess.

BABIES' CLOTHES.—Miss P. Etty, Miss C. Chadwick, Mrs. C. Campbell-Dick.

GROCERIES.—Per Miss Batson.

VIROL.—Anon.

EGGS, ETC.—Anon.

Friends write:—

"I have much pleasure in enclosing 10s. towards the supply of milk for babies, or whatever they specially need. I have a dear baby of my own."

"I enclose cheque for the funds and shall be glad to send it annually. I am much interested in your splendid work."

"I gladly send a contribution in aid of your good work, but why does not the State do more where the need is so claimant?"

Property owners in the neighbourhood of Mountain Ash, in Wales, have put up the rents of houses, which were 25s., to 28s., since the War. A meeting of protest has been held.

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